

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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S E C R E T GENEVA 5021

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E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PARM
SUBJECT: COMMENTS ON MEETING, JUNE 21, 1977 (SALT TWO-1235)

1. AT PLENARY MEETING JUNE 21, I MADE A STATEMENT ON MIRV LAUNCHER DEFINITION, COMMENTING ON THE SOVIET'S JUNE 17 STATEMENT AND COMPARING CERTAIN OF THEIR PROPOSALS WITH OUR POSITION ON THIS ISSUE. I DISCUSSED AREAS OF APPARENT COMMONALITY BETWEEN OUR RESPECTIVE VIEWS, AND ADDRESSED SOME ASPECTS OF THEIR PROPOSALS WHERE CLARIFICATION SEEMED TO BE REQUIRED, PARTICULARLY REGARDING THE MECHANICS, UNDER THEIR APPROACH, OF ASSOCIATING A LAUNCHER DEVELOPED AND TESTED FOR LAUNCHING MIRVED MISSILES WITH CORRESPONDING LAUNCHERS OF THE SAME TYPE.

2. SEMENOV'S STATEMENT CONCERNED THE SS-20 LAUNCHER, "RESOLUTELY REPUDIATING" OUR STATEMENT OF JUNE 14 CONCERNING SS-16/20 LAUNCHER DUAL-CAPABILITY. HE CLAIMED THAT IT IS "WELL-KNOW" THAT THE SS-20 LAUNCHER WAS DEVELOPED AND TESTED FOR MRBMS, AND CANNOT BE USED FOR LAUNCHING ICBMS. HE MAINTAINED THAT THE US PROPOSAL OF JUNE 14 IS "UNFOUNDED," CONTRARY TO THE VLADIVOSTOK ACCORD, AND IS AN ATTEMPT BY THE US TO "GAIN UNILATERAL ADVANTAGE," THROUGH LIMITATIONS ON LAUNCHERS OF MRBMS.

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3. IN RESPONSE, I MAINTAINED THAT THE US PROPOSAL WAS NOT AN ATTEMPT TO GAIN UNILATERAL ADVANTAGE, AND NOT A PRETEXT TO EVADE OR VITIATE WHAT WAS AGREED BETWEEN OUR GOVERNMENTS. RATHER, OUR PROPOSAL RAISES A QUESTION OF FACT: IF LAUNCHERS ARE CAPABLE OF LAUNCHING ICBMS, THEY SHOULD BE INCLUDED IN THE AGGREGATE.

4. IN BILATERAL, I EMPHASIZED THAT OUR STATEMENT TODAY WAS PRE-

LIMINARY, AND THAT WE WERE CONTINUING TO STUDY THEIR PROPOSALS ON MIRV LAUNCHER DEFINITION. I AGREED TO SEMENOV'S REQUEST THAT DRAFTING GROUP REFLECT SOVIET PROPOSALS IN JDT, BUT I SUGGESTED, AND HE ASSENTED, THAT "SUBSTANCE" ON THIS ISSUE SHOULD BE RESERVED FOR OUR CONVERSATIONS. SEMENOV REPEATED HIS REJECTION OF US POSITION ON SS-20 LAUNCHERS. HE SAID THAT THERE WAS "NO NEED" FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF NUMERICAL VALUES FOR LAUNCH WEIGHT AND THROW WEIGHT, AND THAT COMMENTS THE US HAS MADE ON THIS SUBJECT ARE "IRRELEVANT." I REITERATED OUR CONCERN OVER THE ISSUE OF "CURRENT TESTING PRACTICES."

5. IN ROWNY/BELETSKY BILATERALS, INTERPRETER SUDONKIN, IN AN ASIDE, ASKED ROWNY NOT TO USE "CONFUSING NEW DESIGNATORS" FOR SOVIET MISSILES (TABLED LAST WEEK), SINCE THEY WERE ARBITRARILY ARRIVED AT. HE ADDED "THESE DESIGNATORS HAD BEEN DESIGNED TO CONFUSE THE US." (FYI, SUDONKIN SAID THIS WITH A SMILE, BUT MAY HAVE BEEN SERIOUS.)

6. IN KLOSSON/KARPOV DISCUSSIONS, KARPOV MAINTAINED THAT "APPEARANCES ARE NOT DECISIVE" FOR MIRV LAUNCHER VERIFICATION. HE CITED THE DIFFERENT APPEARANCE BETWEEN HARDENED AND UNHARDENED MM II LAUNCHERS, AND NOTED THAT THEY STILL REMAIN THE SAME TYPE BECAUSE THEY ARE BOTH LAUNCHERS OF MM II MISSILES. KARPOV AND SMOLIN ALSO SUGGESTED THAT ISSUE REGARDING CRITERIA OF INTENT ("DEVELOPED AND TESTED FOR") MIGHT BE RESOLVED THROUGH AMENDED FORMULATION.

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7. NEXT PLENARY SESSION FRIDAY, JUNE 24.EARLE

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